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The Suffragist

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SATURDAY, APRIL 28, 1917

Drawn by Nina E. Allender

Suffragist: "We'll Fill the Bowl at this Rate"

National Woman's Party

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Colors—Purple, White and Gold

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MEMBERSHIP: Open to all women who, regarding woman suffrage as the foremost political issue of the day, will support it irrespective of the interests of any national political party.

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Notes of the Week

An Undemocratic Army

THE supreme test of the nation has come. We must all speak, act, and serve together. "The industrial forces of the country, men and women alike, will be a great national, a great international service army—a notable and honored host engaged in the service of the nation and the world, the efficient friends and saviors of free men everywhere.

"The men and women who devote their thoughts and their energy to these things will be serving the country and conducting the fight for peace and freedom just as truly and just as effectively as the men on the battlefield or in the trenches." President Wilson's address to the Nation, April 15.

The President calls out all the forces of the country for "the grim and terrible war for democracy and human rights." When will the President move one step beyond words to give one-half of his army the human rights for which he says they are warring. If he does not make the federal amendment an administration measure this session, another country will try fighting "a war for democracy" with an undemocratic army.

Democracy for Boys

THE Committee on Military Affairs, or the majority of us, decided that we would never vote for a bill that would authorize the government of the United States to conscript boys nineteen to twenty years of age, who do not have the right to vote."

Mr. Dent, of Alabama, Chairman of the Military Affairs Committee in the House, thus explained the Committee's objection to the recommendations of the War Department for conscription of men from 19 to 25 for the new United States army.

If in the interest of democracy boys too young to vote should not have most of the burden of fighting put on them, what about half of the population of the country that must take their full part in the war without a word to say in its conduct?

The President's Program

DEMOCRATS of the House in caucus have agreed to consider at the present extra session only such war and general defense legislation as may be recommended by the President.

"National prohibition, which is being urged by its advocates, as a necessary war measure, may be included under this list, but unless the President recommends it as a war measure, it has no chance of being taken up."

The Democratic caucus, it is reported in Washington papers, has put the responsibility for legislation upon the President. The President will have to take it. If he moves for action on prohibition and ignores suffrage, the women of this country, over seven million voters among them, will want to know why.

The Mote in a Neighbor's Eye

ARTHUR J. BALFOUR and the other British commissioners in this country to confer with the United States Government upon the conduct of the war are to learn, according to the press, that immediate home rule for Ireland would do much to bring the United States into closer sympathy with Great Britain. To this end the Irish question will be discussed in the war conferences.

President Wilson says we are fighting to make the world safe for democracy—for conditions where government can rest on the consent of the governed. Great Britain declares that the allies are fighting for the same cause. The Irish naturally ask why the principle does not apply to them, and Great Britain has not yet answered to suit them. And now the United States will ask that question for Ireland too.

England is not the only country to see danger to democracy elsewhere with a sharper eye than at home. American women are putting the same pointed question to their own government that Ireland is putting to England. They have to take their own part.

Progressive and Republican Support

A NUMBER of Progressive and Republican party leaders, in a recent conference in Washington, issued a statement pledging support to the war plans of the Administration as declared in the President's speech to Congress on April 2, and asking the adoption of certain special government measures such as universal military and industrial service, government control of the necessities of life, a graduated income tax, and "national and state legislation granting women equal political rights with men, thus completing the establishment of democracy."

The pledge was signed by Hiram W. Johnson, Raymond Robbins, Gifford Pinchot, Ogden Reid, Chester Rowell, William Allen White and a number of others.

Rabbis Endorse Suffrage

THE question of suffrage caused a sharp division this week at the assembly of the Eastern Council of Reform Rabbis in New York City, when Rabbi Stephen Wise offered a resolution endorsing the suffrage amendment on the ground that women's enfranchisement is a moral question. The issue between Wise and Rabbi Silverman, who objected to the consideration of "politics," was strong enough to make Rabbi Wise offer to resign.

The resolution was passed by a vote of eleven to two.

A Defense Committee of Women

THE Council of National Defense has appointed an advisory committee of women for consultation upon women's defense work. Dr. Anna Howard Shaw has been made chairman, and others on the committe are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National American Suffrage Association, Mrs. Phillip N. Moore of St. Louis, Mrs. Josiah Cowles of California, and Mrs. Antoinette Funk of Illinois.

In announcing the committee, the Council of National Defense stated that it realized the inestimable value of women's contribution to national effort under modern conditions of warfare.

The Spread Eagle

AT an open air recruiting meeting in Washington last week Representative Augustus Gardner, of Massachusetts, said eloquently: "We are getting into this war so that the man in the street can have something to say about the government in which he lives."

Mr. Gardner explained carefully the distinction between the autocratic and the democratic forms of government, calling off the names of Great Britain, France and Russia as democracies. He urged sending a brigade of marines, "the best fighting men on earth," to Europe at once with the message, "Hold on tight, boys, Uncle Sam is coming!" He assured his listeners that the one bird able to overcome the hawk of tyranny is the American eagle.

Mr. Gardner, one of the anti-suffrage landmarks that the suffrage tide is engulfing, might pause to consider that Great Britain, France and Russia, moving to enfranchise their women, are in truth democracies that the United States cannot well patronize with provincial Fourth of July oratory.

Looking Out for the Indian

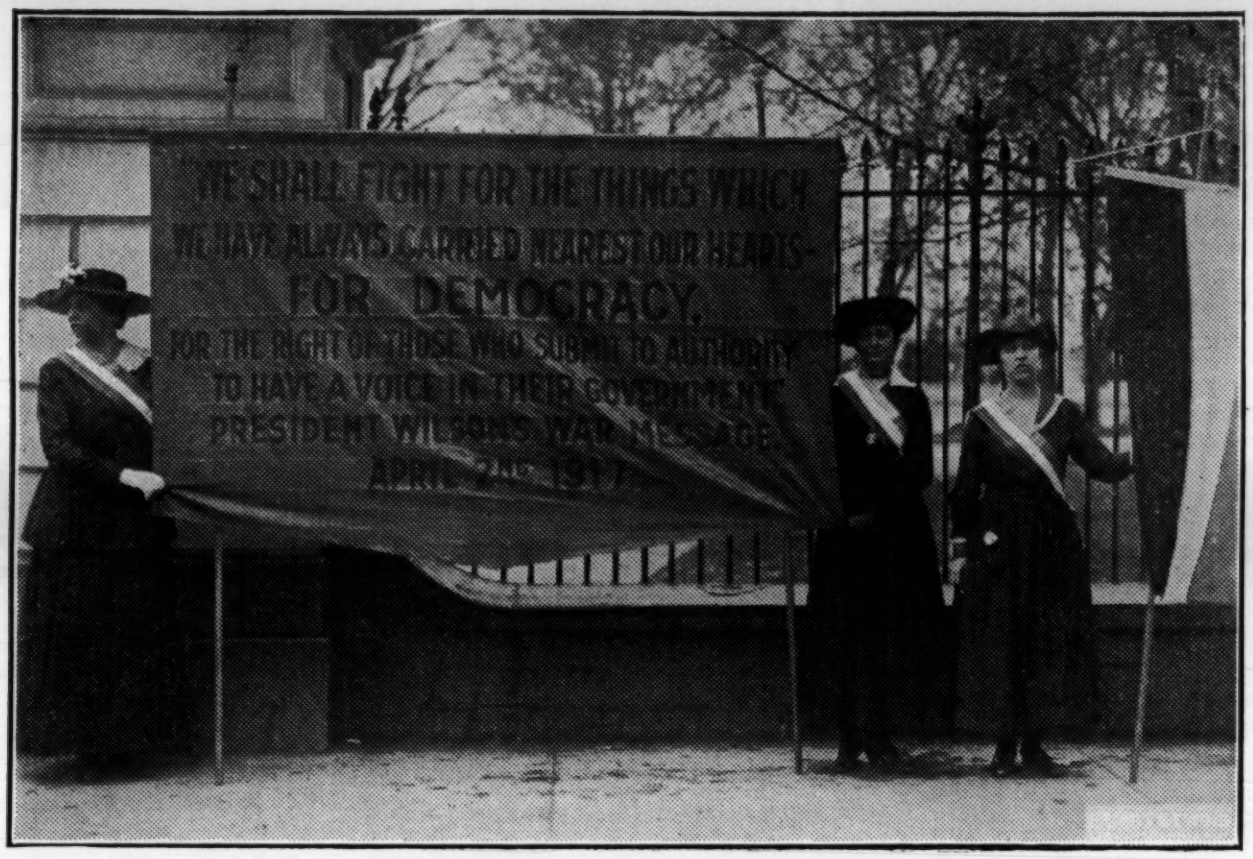
SENATOR BOIES PENROSE of Pennsylvania has introduced an amendment to the army bill for the establishment of ten regiments of Indian cavalry, the members of which are to be given the rights of citizenship.

The Indian amendment has strong supporters, among them Dr. Joseph Dixon, leader of the Wanamaker expeditions to the North American Indians, who urges two reasons for the step—the rich, unused military material in the Indian peoples, and the justice of this recognition of their patriotism in letting them at last into "our boasted democracy."

Women are glad to know that the unenfranchised peoples of this country are weighing on the minds of lovers of freedom, and especially on the mind of Senator Boies Penrose.

Mrs. Adelaide Johnson

THE bust of Susan B. Anthony, a reproduction of which was used on the cover of THE SUFFRAGIST April 21, is the work of Mrs. Adelaide Johnson, the noted sculptor, who was a personal friend of Miss Anthony. Her busts of Miss Anthony, Mrs. Stanton and Lucretia Mott are well known. The bust reproduced stands at the head of the main staircase at the Metropolitan Museum, New York. The name of Mrs. Johnson, who is a member of the Woman's Party, was omitted through an oversight.


WE SHALL FIGHT FOR THE THINGS WHICH
WE HAVE ALWAYS CARRIED NEAREST OUR HEARTS
FOR DEMOCRACY.
FOR THE RIGHT OF THOSE WHO SUBMIT TO AUTHORITY
TO HAVE A VOICE IN THEIR GOVERNMENT
PRESIDENT WILSONS WAR MESSAGE

Michigan Pickets with a Banner of Protest

A Red-letter Week on the Picket Line

THE leaders of two foreign war commissions have this week passed through the gates of the White House and realized through the purple, white and gold banners held high at those gates by the suffrage sentinels of the Woman's Party that the women of this country are demanding democracy.

Arthur Balfour, the leader of the British war commission, arrived on Sunday and paid his respects to the President on Monday morning. A great crowd was gathered in front of the White House to greet him. So zealous were the suffragists of the District and many visitors from voting and non-voting states visiting in Washington to bear witness to the foreign commission that American women are still demanding justice for women that forty banner-holders were drawn up at the two Pennsylvania Avenue entrances. With banners that read "'Democracy should begin at home," and "We demand justice and self-government in our own land," was a great banner that carried the President's war-message that has been read on the battle-fronts of the allied powers:—

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments."

IF the British representatives who passed through the gates recognized a point in the demonstration of bannered women, they gave no sign. The French mission, with Rene Viviani, vice premier and minister of justice, at its head, and with Marshal Joffre, hero of the French fronts, as a member, was more appreciative. The French Commission, in official uniforms, attended by companies of brilliantly uniformed artillery drove through Washington in open cars and passed both the pickets at the White House and the headquarters of the National Woman's Party in the neighborhood of the White House. The great purple, white and gold tri-color of the Woman's Party fluttered from two balconies with the American colors. The beautiful old brick building was covered with blooming spring cascades of wistaria; and the demonstrative Frenchmen shouted their appreciation of the lovely sight and waved their hats to the suffragists in the balconies as they passed.

IN a red-letter week for suffragists that has brought three more states into the suffrage group with Presidential suffrage, Michigan suffrage leaders were present in Washington and proudly during the whole week bore testimony to their new independence on the picket line as well as in interviewing their Congressmen and Representatives, all now in a position to bring new enthusiasm to their attitude toward the federal amendment. These women were Mrs. George Hendrie of Michigan, of the National Advisory Council of the Woman's Party; Mrs. Paul Reyneau of Detroit, state secretary of the Michigan Woman's Party and Mrs. F. C. Aldinger, the state treasurer of the Michigan Woman's Party. All three women helped to hold up the great banner with the President's Message calling attention to his double standard of "democracy."

A PROSPECTIVE state which is beginning work for Presidential Suffrage—Maryland—has also figured on the picket line this week with its most powerful organization represented—the Just Government League of Maryland, lately affiliated with the National Woman's Party. Led by Mrs. Donald R. Hooker, the Maryland President, and Mrs. Townsend Scott, Maryland chairman of the Woman's Party, the delegation came to Washington to ask the President to make good his promise to assist states in their fight for freedom, in this case speaking before instead of after the state legislature has passed on the pending suffrage measure. Following an interview with Secretary Tumulty over the Presidential suffrage hopes of Maryland, the great group of women in a brilliant line reaching from one White House gate to the other stood guard with their banners as a protest for the demand their state is making for freedom.

April 25, the date of the suffrage hearing before the Suffrage Committee of the Senate brought to Washington members of the Woman's Party from many states who bore witness to their faith in democracy on the picket line. Among the women who picketed at the White House or at the Capitol were Mrs. Florence Bayard Hillis, Mrs. Paul Du Pont and Mrs. James Ginns of Delaware; Mrs. Sophie G. Meredith, Mrs. Hill Urquhart and Mrs. Henry Lockwood of Virginia; Miss Caroline Katzenstein and Miss Marie Ernst Kennedy of Pennsylvania; and Mrs. Rheta Childe Dorr and Mrs. Mary Beard of New York.

Michigan and Nebraska Enfranchised

IN one week of April, 1917, three state legislatures enfranchised women by the passage of presidential suffrage bills. The day after the victory of Rhode Island in the East came news of Michigan enfranchised in the Middle West on April 18. Three days later Nebraska joined the other free states of the West.

It took twenty-seven years to win the first three states in this country for equal suffrage. This last year's swift crowding of states into the enfranchised ranks by legislative enactment, and last week's sudden rush of victories in war time, proves as nothing else could prove that the time is now ripe for suffrage all over the country, and that everywhere people are tired of further delay over how the democratic step should be taken.

IN Michigan, after years of defeats from legislators and electors, suffrage came at last easily.

On April 18 the House passed the bill by a vote of 64 to 30, it having already passed the Senate.

Defense for the bill was hardly necessary and almost the only speaking was that of men explaining "no" votes—most of these taking care to state that they had already voted for the pending constitutional amendment. Following the vote a great demonstration broke out in the House such as no question has lately roused except the preparedness question.

NEBRASKA, the nineteenth state to grant suffrage to women, followed Michigan on the 21st, ending a fight for enfranchisement that began in 1883 at a state suffrage convention when Susan B. Anthony kindled the spirit of political liberty in Nebraska women at a meeting still remembered as the most enthusiastic in the suffrage history of the state.

The final vote on the bill took place in the Senate after a week-long fight had been waged to get the sifting commitee to bring it up for consideration before adjournment. The only opposition was in the Senate, the House having already given the measure an overwhelming majority. However, on the 20th a prohibition bill carried, greatly weakening the organized opposition, and next day presidential suffrage passed by a vote of nineteen to ten.

MRS. ORTON H. CLARK, president of the Michigan State Suffrage Association, stated as soon as the bill in her state was certain: "Now our goal will be full suffrage, which will mean a federal amendment."

That the women of Michigan and Nebraska will see the logical and practical next step clearly and will add their big gains to the federal amendmen struggle cannot be doubted. The Michigan branch of the National Woman's Party, with Mrs. Nelson Whittemore chairman, and the Nebraska branch, under the chairmanship of Mrs. Charles Johannes, are organized to direct this powerful leverage of voting women upon the administration for the complete enfranchisement of themselves and all the women of the country at one stroke before the full work of the war is upon us.

Michigan and Nebraska elect fifteen and eight electors respectively, making the number of presidential electors voted upon by women in 1920 nearly one-third of the whole electoral college. This is a great force, but by 1920 such a use of women's voting power will hardly be needed. The truth that the country is for suffrage is surely clear after three victories in one week. The first state was won in 1869. When the fiftieth anniversary of that date comes round, it will probably find all the women of the United States enfranchised to celebrate it.

The Maryland Deputation to the President

PRESIDENT WILSON to W. R. Crabtree, President of the Tennessee Senate.

May I not express my earnest hope that the Senate of Tennessee will reconsider the vote by which it rejected the legislation extending the suffrage to women? Our party is so distinctly pledged to its passage that it seems to me the moral obligation is complete.

March 3, 1917. WOODROW WILSON.

MR. TUMULTY to Mrs. Donald R. Hooker.

The President directs me to acknowledge the receipt of your telegram, and to say while he hopes with all his heart that the Bill (Maryland Presidential Suffrage Bill) will pass, he will not comply with your request because he feels that it might possibly do more harm than good, knowing as he does the sensitiveness of legislative bodies with regard to outside suggestions, particularly if made with any apparent assumption of official authority.

April 17, 1917. Sincerely yours, J. P. TUMULTY.

MRS. DONALD R. HOOKER, President of the Just Government League of Maryland; Mrs. Townsend Scott, chairman of the Maryland Woman's Party, and Mrs. Spencer Murray, a member of the Advisory Council of the National Woman's Party, this week led a deputation of forty Maryland women to President Wilson to ask his support for the Presidential suffrage measure now before the Maryland legislature.

Maryland women remembered that President Wilson had pledged himself to do all he could to further the passage of suffrage bills in the states, and that he had asked the Tennessee legislature less than two months ago to reconsider a suffrage measure after it had been defeated. They wished him to ask another southern state to pass the suffrage measure as a war measure, and to make the request before the bill had been voted upon instead of after.

Before going to the President, Mrs. Hooker communicated the desire of Maryland women to state their case to the President to Secretary to the President Tumulty, and received a reply that declared that the President was loath to offend the "sensitiveness of legislative bodies." Knowing that he must have forgotten the Tennessee message, Mrs. Hooker and her large party went to the White House on April 23.

Unable to receive the women through press of business the President delegated Mr. Tumulty to receive the deputation. Three resolutions presenting the desires of fifteen thousand women and asking a message from the President to the Maryland legislature were read to Mr. Tumulty for submission to the President. Mrs. Hooker said Maryland women asked the President to regard suffrage as a war measure. Referring to the President's feeling that legislators would resent interference by the President, she told him that she had interviewed many of the Democratic leaders of the Maryland legislature who declared that word from the President would by no means be resented. She then reminded him of the President's action in regard to the Tennessee legislature.

So impressed was Mr. Tumulty by the logic of the resolutions and by Mrs. Hooker's appeal, that he asked that Maryland women again present their case to the President, recalling to his memory the Tennessee telegram, and the fact that Democratic leaders of the legislature had disclaimed resentment over Presidential advice.

The delegation left the White House hopeful that the President would reconsider the position so difficult to reconcile with his former statements.

THE SUSAN B. ANTHONY AMENDMENT

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

Introduced

In the Senate, on April 4, 1917, by Senators Thompson, Owen, Jones and Shafroth.
In the House, on April 2, 1917 by Representatives Raker, Rankin, Mondell, Keating and Hayden.

Referred

In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.
In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced

January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee

In the Senate

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

In the House

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorabe minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916. Without recommendation.

Voted Upon

In the Senate

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).
March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

The Suffragist

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35

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Rhode Island, Michigan and Nebraska

THE gaining of presidential suffrage by the women of Rhode Island, Michigan, and Nebraska places the national suffrage amendment in a position where its passage cannot be much longer resisted. There are now nineteen states, more than one-third of the states in the Union, in which women are eligible to vote in national elections. Over seven million women are now able to vote for President and nearly three million to vote for Congress. In one form or another nearly eight million can take part in national elections. The winning of suffrage in these three states means that now more than one-third of the Senate, more than one-fourth of the House, more than one-fourth of the total electoral vote, and more than one-half of that necessary to elect a President comes from suffrage states.

When President Wilson came into office in 1913, active work for the federal amendment was undertaken in the belief that the addition of Oregon, Kansas, and Arizona, the previous November, to the six states where women were enfranchised gave sufficient political backing to this amendment to ensure its passage. Only gradually, however, has it been possible to win support for the federal campaign among suffragists themselves. Again and again during these four years they have refused help on the ground that more states must be won before action by Congress was possible. This fear of concentration on the national campaign, this belief that more states must be won, has delayed national action on suffrage until more states were won.

Slowly week by week, nevertheless, the organization of suffragists back of this amendment has been carried from congressional district to congressional district until at last there exists an army of women supporting it. The reinforcement brought to this army by the addition this week of another million voters able to contribute political as well as financial and moral aid must win the last doubting suffragist to the belief that the time to press for national action is here. With nineteen states the most cautious suffragist can hardly hesitate longer.

Only by a federal amendment can suffrage for women be completly established. What the legislatures have given, subsequent legislatures can take away or courts declare unconstitutional. In states with the initiative and referendum suffrage conferred by the legislature may be lost at a referendum instituted by circulation of a petition. In states where suffrage has been won by legislative action, moreover, the suffrage is only partial. No control is given to women over their representatives in Congress, who can decide upon the most vital questions affecting their lives. Even those women possessing full suffrage in their own states are but partly enfranchised, since by moving across their state borders they may lose their political rights. Not until the guarantee of our political liberty is incorporated in the national constitution is our freedom really won.

(NOTE—Figures given of the women eligible to vote at elections are based on the census of 1910.)

Georgia Women Join the Woman's Party

THE Southern states are lining up with enthusiasm behind the federal suffrage amendment. Following the example of North and South Carolina, Georgia women this week formed a state branch of the National Woman's Party to push for the enfranchisement of the women of the whole nation; and Florida and Alabama are also preparing to form groups to work along federal lines for their liberty.

The Georgia state conference of the National Woman's Party was held in Atlanta, April 21, at the Piedmont Hotel, with sixty women of Atlanta and near-by cities present. The Atlanta *Constitution* calls the state conference which pledged the women of Georgia for the first time to political work for suffrage "one of the most memorable women's meetings ever held in Atlanta."

Prior to the conference Miss Beulah Amidon, as organizer for the National Woman's Party, addressed many local meetings and with Miss Elsie Hill of Washington, D. C. held street meetings twice a day in Atlanta, an innovation for a city unused to street political meetings conducted by women. Before the National Woman's Party was formally organized the man on the street as well as the woman had a good idea of the brisk fight for complete democracy that is being carried on in the East and the West, and at last in the South under the purple, white and gold banners of the Woman's Party.

AT the conference proper, following a luncheon, the following state chairman and committee for further organization were elected: Mrs. Beatrice Castleton of Atlanta, chairman for Georgia; state committee: Mrs. Frank Calloway, Mrs. Linton Hopkins, Miss Caroline Cobb, Mrs. F. M. Farley, Mrs. Robert Maddox, Mrs. N. C. Wing and Mrs. W. H. Felton. Mrs. Castleton is a brilliant woman attorney practising in Atlanta with her husband, Samuel Castleton. Mrs. Felton, affectionately called "the grand old woman of Georgia," though eighty-three years of age is still a worker for complete freedom for women. Mrs. Felton has long been a member and friend of the Woman's Party, as the Congressional Union, sending a greeting to the women of the West from the women of the South on the Suffrage Special when the appeal to the West to enter the political battle for suffrage was first made.

AT the conference luncheon, with Mrs. Samuel Boykin Turman as chairman, Miss Amidon outlined the history of the Democratic Party's four-year opposition to the federal suffrage amendment, while Miss Elsie Hill described the party organization system that must be met when legislation is sought through Congress. Miss Hill reminded her audience that New England controlled the Republican Party for years, resisting the new progressive thought of the West, and warned the South, now in power because of the revolt of the West, that resistance to a nation-wide demand for a wider democracy would bring similar reverses to the Party the South now controls.

Mr. Samuel Castleton, an Atlanta attorney, discussed national suffrage from the legal standpoint, contending that an amendment to the national constitution was the feasible and direct road to suffrage; but that the reform to carry weight must have the backing of the South as well as the North, the East as well as the West.

At an executive session following the luncheon an immediate campaign for the federal amendment was planned. Besides a brisk letter lobby on the members of the Sixty-fifth Congress from Georgia, an attack upon Georgia's vulnerable spot, from a federal amendment standpoint, will be made: the first district to be organized will be the eleventh, including Valdosta, the home of Representative J. R. Walker, the only member of the Judiciary Committee from Georgia.

The Massachusetts and Vermont Conferences

FOLLOWING a brilliant and successful state conference, held at the Copley Plaza Hotel in Boston, the Massachusetts branch of the Woman's Party inaugurated another year of strenuous activity. The salon of the hotel was gay with the colors of the Woman's Party, yellow orchids combined with purple iris and white roses decorating each table, with purple and yellow pansies at each place. The flowers for the tables as well as all conference expenses were paid by Miss Grace Henshaw, a loyal Cambridge member.

Mrs. Agnes H. Morey acted as toast-mistress and chairman at the luncheon, with Miss Lucy Burns of New York, Miss Anne Martin of Nevada, Mr. Walter Hale of Boston, and Mr. Herbert N. Pinkham, Jr., and Mr. Elwell Whiting, Boston newspaper editors, as the speakers. Mr. Hale and Mr. Whiting both urged concentrated suffrage work even in the face of the war, and while the remarks of Mr. Pinkham took a facetious turn, his loyalty to the federal battle for women was none the less apparent. "In these days of offers of back-yards for gardening," he said, "I must remind you that there are women who can both garden and work for their own independence; do not be drawn into the substitution of beans for ballots."

Miss Martin, vice-chairman of the National Woman's Party and chairman also of its legislative department, gave a clear and brilliant analysis of the entire legislative situation, and held out hopes for the passage of the federal suffrage amendment this session of Congress. Miss Burns stirred her audience by the thrilling quality of her speech, impressing on them that we cannot be true to the heritage which is ours and of which we are custodians if we do not press for the federal amendment at this time, even in the face of war agitation.

Pledges of support for the coming year came quickly, $1,215 dollars being promised for the federal amendment work in Massachusetts and in the national capitol within fifteen minutes.

The following officers were elected for the coming year: Mrs. Agnes H. Morey, chairman; Mrs. Olive Halladay Hasbrouck, Mrs. Edward C. Jeffrey, Mrs. Thomas H. Gray, Jr., Mrs. Gertrude B. Newell, Miss Grace Henshaw, Mrs. Francis M. Babson, Mrs. James T. Carret, Mrs. George Scott, Mrs. Louis Bement, vice-chairmen; Mrs. Evelyn Peverly Coe, secretary, and Miss Katharine A. Morey, treasurer.

A STATE conference was held in Montpelier, Vermont, at the City Hall, April 21, with Mrs. J. Borden Estee, state chairman, presiding. Mrs. Estee welcomed the state members and paid tribute to the present work of the Woman's Party. "Our hope lies in the passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment this Congress," said Mrs. Estee. "Women are feeling especially keenly today the necessity for an early settlement of this long-delayed justice. We must join our convictions with the political power of the already enfranchised women in the hope of early victory.

Miss Anne Martin traced the growth of the federal amendment battle from its fresh beginnings four years ago, and showed the brilliant record that was the result of concentration on Congress. "Our trouble is in the minds of women," said Miss Martin, "more than it is in the minds of men. We women must face the fact that we shall realize our enfranchisement only when we insist that it is the paramount issue, no matter what is pending." Miss Doris Stevens, a member of the naional executive committee, also spoke. Mrs. J. Borden Estee was appointed to serve as acting-chairman pending the election of a permanent chairman, with Dr. Anna L. Kelton as treasurer.

The following organization committee was elected for the State of Vermont to begin at once an active campaign in the districts for the federal amendment. Mrs. J. Borden Estee, Dr. Anna L. Kelton, Miss Rebecca Wright, Miss M. S. Spencer, Mrs. L. W. Hansen, Montpelier; Miss Helen Hoar, Mrs. F. A. Walker, Barre; Mrs. George Pease, Mrs. H. C. Wheelock, Mrs. Sara W. Hagar, Mrs H. L. Pitcher, Burlngton

Miss Stevens and Miss Martin also held an enthusiastic meeting on behalf of the Woman's Party in Burlington, enlisting additional support for the Vermont campaign for which funds were pledged.

April 26th Hearing before the Senate Suffrage Committee

By Rheta Childe Dorr

THE hearing before the Senate Committee on April 26th was a memorable one. The serious and respectful attention paid the speakers by the Committee, the densely crowded and breathlessly attentive audience, and the direct and authoritative remarks of the five women and the one man who spoke would have made any such hearing memorable. But the sense of the nearness of war, the presence in Washington of men come to seal our new compact with the democracies of the world, the knowledge that men in many countries are beginning to realize that they cannot make the world safe for democracy without the help and counsel of their women, created an atmosphere almost portentous. The hearing ended quietly, and the great audience went away carrying with it a sense of momentous things soon to happen.

As if to symbolize the pending change the sky was dark and brooding. But the young green of the trees, the springing turf and the blaze of April flowers in the Capitol grounds all spoke promise. It is the time of the new talk. Arguments and pleadings have come and gone. Women appear now not as suppliants for justice, but as recruits in the national forces now being mobilized. In every national crisis women have performed their full duty, they have volunteered for service and have been accepted. The difference between then and now is that men now see the full value of those services. Work is no longer done privately and individually. It is done through organization, and the whole tone of the hearing was vital with consciousness on the part of the committee, the speakers and the audience that the enfranchisement of women in this crisis was a necessary and inevitable part of national mobilization.

MISS ANNE MARTIN, vice-chairman of the National Woman's Party and chairman of its legislative committee, presided at the hearing. In her few words to the Senate Committee before introducing the speakers, Miss Martin expressed the spirit of the morning's proceedings. "We regard it as an act of the highest loyalty and patriotism," she said, "to urge the passage of the amendment at this time that we may, as fully equipped, fully enfranchised citizens do our part in carrying out and helping to solve the problems that lie before the government when our country is at war."

Mrs. Mary Beard, the first speaker, quoted Senator Thomas who had said in 1916 that there had once been people who argued that women should not vote because they could not fight. The European war had swept that argument away.

"Richly as the European women have deserved this tribute," said Mrs. Beard, "it is well known to historians that American women have been just as vital an element in American military strength. In the Revolutionary War, in 1812, in the Civil War, women's services were of immense value. The failure of the press, the pulpit and the platform to refer to former services of women has made the women of today rush with feverish zeal to offer themselves for service of every kind of work, 'for we too,' they say, 'must prove our worth.'

"Our women will prove their worth, but the emphasis needs to be removed from the word 'must.' They have proved their worth to this nation in time of war, and the present American struggle is merely a continuous performance of service which should have been recognized in this so-called democracy not later than the close of the Civil War, and would have been still more fittingly recognized at the close of the Revolutionary."

Mrs. Beard referred to the food problem, which in the past as at present was largely a matter for women to solve. Just as in Revolutionary days the fields were ploughed and planted by women; as in the Civil War the women harvested, served as army cooks, and worked at home to supply nourishing food for the men at the front; so the women of today are organizing to feed the country. Pictures of women ploughing behind the lines in France have been duplicated in this country and will be again this spring.

"The army must be clothed," said Mrs. Beard. "Women have played a mighty part in clothing armies. In the beginning they spun and wove the cloth, and sewed the garments by hand. Later they went into factories and toiled on a pittance and through long hours. The army must be nursed. The army must be paid. The war must be paid for. To all these things women make contributions."

In closing Mrs. Beard said: "We have declared that we enter this war for the sake of democracy. 'Whose democracy?' we women ask. Is it for the democracy of the new Russia with its stand for universal suffrage, and the democracy of England with its stand for universal suffrage, or the democracy of this country with its manhood suffrage alone? Shall we with-hold the vote from American women and send the leading opponent of woman suffrage, Mr. Elihu Root, to Russia to advise her to refuse recognition to her superb women, and let England become the democratc leader of the world, as far as the great powers are concerned? Or shall we admit that our women have passed every test, as they have? Shall we have as much courage and imagination as Russia and England? Shall we be as sincere in our democratic effusions and promote democracy at home as well as in Germany?"

MISS MADELINE DOTY, author of "Short Rations," drew a striking picture of the state of Germany as she saw it during the war. Here is a country which not only refuses to recognize the political existence of women but considers them to be inferior social factors. Even a woman's motherhood is treated with contempt in this thoroughly institutionalised, masculine country. Children were taken away from their mothers, when "military necessity" seemed to warrant, the boys being placed in institutions and trained to be soldiers, the girls being raised for domestic servants.

"The appalling thing in Europe," said Miss Doty, "is the tremendous spiritual poverty at home. The flower of the country is apt to go to war, leaving at home the men who are grafters to take control of the government. The women are left to combat these men with the handicap of lack of political power.

"Things are dark in Germany, but they are dark also in England.

"In England the women had a desperate struggle to keep up the wage standard. They wanted to give their services to their country, but when they were offered half the wages the men received for the same work they protested, not only for themselves, but for the men who had enlisted in the army. When I was in England I saw a procession of 7,000 women, some carrying babies, come to a big meeting in front of Parliament to hear speakers demanding that their wages should not be lowered. They were fighting for their men, as well as working for the welfare of their country."

Miss Doty closed her speech with a strong appeal to give American women the vote, that they may protect themselves, their homes, and their children; that they may render social service and uphold the democracy of the country.

MORE testimony to the condition of women in Europe was given by Ernestine Evans, who has travelled widely in Russia and the mysterious Balkans. She pointed out also the recruiting of women into modern industry now in this country.

"The great body of unskilled labor that used to come yearly across the ocean has ceased to come in the last two years, and as everyone who has noted the factory statistics of the United States in the last few years knows, the places of Italian, Bulgarian and Servian laborers have been already taken by the women of Connecticut, New Jersey, and Illinois, and the other big munition centers of the country. Women, not alone because it is war time, but simply because it is 1916 and 1917 are going into a number of new industries. They go into them because the competition in modern in-

dustry has grown more and more acute, and it is absolutely necessary for every working unit of a nation to be brought into play.

"It is absolutely unbelievable that the men of this country who have cared in the past for democracy—it is unbelievable that organized labor, which is so often blind to its own interests, would consent for a moment that a great body of male workmen should be added to the laboring portion of our country and be used as an unenfranchised group, unable to protect itself, unable to suggest, with any power behind it, that this or that thing is what should be done to preserve the happiness or health, and the possibilities of fatherhood, both for themselves and for the country. It seems to me an enormously important matter to see this new army of women as great bodies of unenfranchised workingmen, which it is unbelievable the American nation should endure."

MRS. RICHARD WAINWRIGHT pleaded for the Susan B. Anthony amendment as a measure of Americanization, and asked that Congress which has so ardently endorsed the democratization of Europe should take immediate steps to establish it at home.

"We have appealed for this hearing before the Senate Committee not as women but as Americans," she said. "We resent the fact that our great nation stands behind so many countries of the world, even China, in giving the share of its government to its women. We feel justified in maintaining that the Congress of these United States should not stand behind other nations in doing this thing that is lawful and right. While you gentlemen may consider this a wrong time to impose upon you and ask you to consider our demand for the enactment of the Susan B. Anthony amendment when you are so busy with questions national and international, we consider that we are very patriotic when we ask you to pass that amendment now, because we wish to stand as a real democracy and not as a political fiction, as we are now when half the people are governed without their consent.

"I have been a picket before the White House. I carried a flag which I considered almost a beggar's petition. I look up and down and see the women of these United States who did the work of Civil War nursing in my youth, and who are now doing their fair share with the men as to money and service in running this great country, and I do not think we should be compelled to stand and beg that we may not be forgotten before the doors of the White House of the United States.

"I think that the Woman's Party grows stronger every day, and that, demanding not words but deeds, it will be able to express its feelings in the political future of the country. I think, too, that at the end of this war, when we have served through the war into which we have gone for democracy, if we want to be truly represented at the final meeting of the great nations in the league for peace, these United States should come in as a full, free and real democracy, which it cannot do with half of its people disfranchised."

Miss Alice Carpenter, now managing the Women's Training Camp on Long Island, reminded the Committee that in the early primitive days of this country men put a pistol into women's hands and taught them how to use it. They did not say, "The gun is masculine, and will unsex you." They saw that women had need of a protection which they could not give, and so they gave to them the power to protect themselves. The protection women will need now, surrounded by dangers far more insidious than any danger that ever threatened women in time of peace, is the protection of the franchise.

DUDLEY FIELD MALONE, Collector of the Port of New York, left his arduous and difficult duties, the more important since the country entered a state of war, to make a plea not only for a favorable report by the committee, but the speedy passage of the amendment. The committee knew, he said, how easy it was to report a bill and then pigeonhole it. That was a familiar practice. The thing to do was to advance the bill as an emergency measure, and to pass it. Mr. Malone was not enthusastic about the state by state method of securing suffrage—"Muddling through," he called it, the old cautious policy. Giving women the right to vote for school trustees, assuming that they might have brains enough to choose a county clerk, giving them municipal and presidential suffrage. They should be given full suffrage at once, without any more muddling.

Closing the hearing, the Honorable Jeannette Rankin spoke of the infinite care and patience American workmen had been obliged to exercise in raising the standards of workers. The protection of those standards had been made more difficult by the advent of women into industry. The women have undercut the men, because they were weaker. In turn the children have undercut both men and women, because they were weakest of all.

"We know that during wartime we are capable of committing the noblest as well as the basest deeds," said Miss Rankin. "In rushing women into the factories we are apt to forget standards and the fact that those should be kept even higher than the present standards of today. In order to make the nation realize these needs of women we should give the women the responsibility of caring for themselves during this time of emergency."

I CANNOT help contrasting this hearing with the one we held last week," remarked Senator Jones, at the close. "All the speakers then, with one exception, were men. The conditions were reversed today," and Senator Jones tossed a smile in the direction of Mr. Malone. "I congratulate you."

Senator Jones spoke humorously, but there was conviction in his tone. The hearing had been a notable one. As the women rose to go, Senator Johnson of California, a member of the committee, called out to them: "You know where I stand. I'm with you."

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Comments of the Press

Rhode Island and Russia

PRESIDENTIAL suffrage for the women of Rhode Island is one more timid step in the limping advance of equal suffrage from state to state. It is a victory, of a sort, but still the advance is slow. Suffrage workers have passed another milestone when they make their mark on the Atlantic coast—and in New England—yet seven of the 18 suffrage states stop short of full suffrage, and local politicians in several other states have their knives out for the next killing.

Pressure for the passage of a national suffrage amendment continues at Washington. It should succeed in the present Congress. There is no better time for extending the franchise than now, when all are called to the service of the country in democracy's name.

England and Russia are leading the way. The United States is expected to act soon enough, at least, to follow next in line to Russia.—*Boston Journal, April* 20.

Suffrage Breaks Through

IN Ohio the movement reached the edge of the East. And now, through the vote of Rhode Island's Legislature, the Atlantic Coast itself possesses a suffrage state. It is a small victory, but a momentous one. Governor Beeckman, whose leadership made the gain possible, deserves high praise. His state is to be congratulated. The solid block of the conservative East has been broken, and women now possess votes affecting 149 electors out of 531—much more than a quarter of the entire vote.

The effect of the war in this quickening advance is unmistakable. Perhaps America will enter the war half-heartedly, and we may miss the lesson which our allies have learned. But we doubt both possibilities. We doubt especially whether America can long remain the one advanced and democratic nation to deny equal rights to its women.—*New York Tribune, April* 18.

War Legislature

THE major work of the extra session must be military, naval and financial legislation, but there will be time enough to consider dispassionately the related domestic measures which failed at the last session.

The patriotic impulses of Congress have been quickened by the contact of the members with their own constituents. In a military and naval way there is little doubt that Congress will do what is required of it, patriotically and unhesitatingly.

The same spirit of unity, if applied to domestic problems, would make the future of the country safer and more prosperous.—*Washington, D. C., Post, March* 29.

Pennsylvania's Hope

VICTORY is sure; the spirit of the whole world heralds it. The great war, which has brought liberation to the women of tradition-bound Britain and backward Russia, cannot fail to have the same quickening influence here; for this is a conflict to defend and strengthen democracy, to the complete and rational fulfillment of which equal suffrage is necessary.

Our candid belief is that it will not be requisite to have another popular vote on this question in Pennsylvania—that it will be settled nationally before the time for such a test arrives.—*Philadelphia North American, April* 21.

A Larger Constituency

JEANNETTE RANKIN has a difficult post to fill. A Congressman has but to represent his constituents; he generally is satisfied with that responsibility. Jeannette Rankin's constituency extends from ocean to ocean, from Gulf to the Canadian line. There is not a woman in this country who does not more keenly feel her part in this government because of the Montana girl. It is safe to predict she will bring a new spirit to the Congress of the United States because of her large hopes for women, because of her stand on human rights, because, in short, of her larger constituency.

Congressman Jeannette Rankin's first resolution proposed an amendment to the Constitution of the United States enfranchising women. The simple act of throwing Resolution number three into the basket turned a new page in the history of woman suffrage for this country.

For Resolution Number Three read: The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.—*Mt. Vernon, Ind., Unafraid Republican, April* 20.

Preparedness

WHAT the country needs now is prohibition, woman suffrage, a food commission, and universal military training.—*New York Evening Post, April* 15.

The Moss-back Uprooted

UNCLE JOE" said he never expected to live to see a woman in Congress; now that his home town has gone dry, life becomes just one blamed sensation after another.—*Washington, D. C., Post, April* 19.

True, However Intended

THE fortitude of the ladies who have picketed the White House may prove a national asset should war call the women of the country to assume the responsibilities of industrial life.—*The Washington, D. C., Star, April* 23.

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Total collected by Branches	826.37
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Total collected by Branches through April 21, 1917..	30,493.07
Grand Total	$258,105.36
Deduction:	
Transferred from Branch Headquarters to National Headquarters	900.00
Grand Net Total	$257,205.36

Circulation of Suffragist

Circulation Manager, Miss Elizabeth Smith

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April 15 Through April 21, 1917

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Miss Ingeborg Kindstedt	1
Mrs. L. H. White	1
Mrs. Faith P. Jarrett	1
Mrs. Marion Holmes	1
TOTAL	21

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP

Management, circulation, etc., required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, of THE SUFFRAGIST, published weekly at Washington, D. C., for April, 1917.

Publisher: The National Woman's Party, Washington, D. C.

Editor: Miss Pauline Clarke, Lafayette Square, Washington, D. C.

Managing Editor: None.

Business Manager: Miss Hazel Hunkins, Lafayette Square, Washington, D. C.

Owners: The National Woman's Party, Washington, D. C.

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